1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

âth	*ûvòdin*	*kati*	*vaiumd.*
these	all before	tie	keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren*. The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows.

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing.

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind.

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used.

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

291
302

FIG. 61.—SHOWING METHODS OF WEARING THE TODA GARMENTS AND OF DOING THE HAIR.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

287 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
793 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
292 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kòdrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

302 765 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 782 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*, "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mtkuti* (*? meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mtkuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 751 755 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered 304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

302

FIGS. 63 AND 64.—TO SHOW METHOD OF SHAVING THE HEAD OF A CHILD.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *tîpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus.

Ornaments

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Tarudr and Kanódrs.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. III. ever find themselves, could have had an impression so great as to have left this permanent stamp on the Toda forehead.

The following description of the physical appearance of the Todas will, I trust, prove of some value.

Eyebrows. Horizontal, straight and of medium length; never short, sometimes long; approach each other. Sometimes fine—willow leaf—generally somewhat bushy, with hairs close and, amongst the women, soft like a beaver's.

Nose. Generally *narrow* and of medium height at the base; nasal bones broad at the lower end; long; superciliary ridge in both sexes often very strongly marked; sometimes aquiline, often nearly so, never *retroussé*. Rather fleshy; nostrils rather dilated, but sometimes long and fine. The nose rarely appears at perfection before mid-age.

Mouth. Somewhat fleshy; rather short upper lip, and rather protruding and pendant lower lip—often strikingly so, becoming more evident with advancing years.

Gums. Generally purple, but often of a bright, highly oxygenated red colour.

Teeth. Sometimes short and broad, in others long; nearly all are even, yellowish, but bright, with rounded edges, set in roomy but not large jaws. With some the teeth are set at intervals, spreading outwards like a fan. In a few cases they were found cramped and crushed together; in one or two instances the eye-teeth were prominent. The teeth last till old age.

Ears. Generally flat to the head, never standing out; long, and with a large fleshy lobe. The orifice is nearly on a line with the eyebrow.

Hair of head. In both sexes black and heavy; in some cases close and tolerably fine, in others as much separate as in a wig, and coarse; wavy rather than curly. Both men and women habitually cut their hair, the former to about the level of the nose, and the latter at the shoulder. There are two or three nearly bald men in the tribe, but no bald women.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

153 Toda blood may ever arise to influence the tribe, yet what they do know, they know well. They are intelligent within limits. Although they take contracted views of things, yet they work and act within the circumscribed limits of their mental vision with great steadiness, intelligence, and some sense.

124 153 I am indebted to the quick-wittedness and patience of both men and women, for the accuracy and definition of the information on the manners and customs of the tribe which I have been able to afford. I cannot present a stronger tribute to their frank and obliging communicativeness, than in stating that we made a habit of very close cross-questioning in tiny villages for three and four hours together. One woman well earned the title of Munshi, by telling us at a sitting the Toda words for the long list of relations given in Chapter VII. Notwithstanding the questions were often repeated, and many of them puzzling, she kept her head quite clear throughout, dexterously speaking with slowness and marked intonation, showing pointedly with tongue and teeth, how the syllables of the difficult words should be pronounced.

153 Though their brains became fatigued sooner than ours did, I doubt if they tired more quickly than would those of illiterate peasants in other parts of the world.

● 342 Travellers have affirmed that the Todas stain their skin by the use of a blue colour; but I have ascertained, both by personal inspection and by direct enquiry, that this statement is incorrect. Dark races are apt to have the skin in some portions of the body naturally of three or even four shades darker tint than in others, indeed often so strikingly dark as to give the impression that those parts had been stained. This peculiarity is nowhere more remarkable than in the nape of the neck. I have often observed it amongst the Sikhs, and it is quite apart from freckling or the effects of exposure. I noticed it so very much the case in one young woman, that I asked her if she had coloured it. The reply convinced me

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

that the practice of staining the skin is quite unknown to them.

302 ●

They—the women—however, mark or tattoo portions of the body, terming it Gurtu. Dr. Shortt has recorded these marks so carefully, that I cannot do better than quote his own words:—'The women,' he writes, 'are tattooed about the arms, chest, and legs in the following manner: Three semicircles of dots on the outer side of each arm, each semicircle containing nine points; a double row of dots across the upper part of the chest, about an inch below the clavicle, each row consisting of thirty-six points, about the eighth of an inch apart, the rows themselves being one inch distant from each other. Those on the arms have an intervening space of two inches; two rows, containing eight or nine points each, on the shoulders, commencing in front where the lines on the chest terminate, and extending backwards to a point on a level with the superior semicircle on the arm; a solitary dot in the centre of the chin; two circular lines of dots on each leg, the upper circle containing twenty-five and the lower only twenty dots; and a row across the dorsum of each foot, numbering from nine to eleven points. The terminal point of each row is marked by a ring, the interlinear points being simple dots, frequently taking the form of squares.'[1]

304

The most characteristic personal ornament amongst them, is that carried by women; an extremely clumsy metal ring—Tulwaji—weighing sometimes as much as five pounds, which is carried on the upper part of the arm, and worn according to taste; sometimes one ring on each arm, or sometimes a pair on one arm, kept apart—so that the skin may not be pinched between them—by means of a slip of padding. These rings are often built half of copper, half of brass, so that one day they may be worn presenting the one metal, and another day turned to show the other. In order that the arm may be introduced into this ponderous mass of brass, the ring is cut

301

[1] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [439]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Langoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

 They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises

from circumstances somewhat beyond their control; such as crowded establishments and poverty. They bathe their bodies in the running brook, and even sometimes use hot-water for the same purpose. Yet I do not remember to have seen a Putkuli fresh from a wash.

A pretty sight, that rewarded one of my expeditions, was a group of women and girls just returned from the stream, sitting, clean and bright, curling one another's hair. The locks were separated neatly, and the partings made accurately with the finger-nail. Each lock having been dressed straight, either with the fingers or a forked stick, is twisted and twisted until it has formed a tight coil, when the end is tucked in among the roots. The *well developed* female back-head looks remarkably pleasing under this treatment—unadorned, adorned the most. The curls are opened out in the morning.

The eyebrows are sometimes touched up with a charred stick from the fire-place; the fancy being to join them over the bridge of the nose.

If they would only not grease the hair with butter, I could close this description of the toilette without unpleasant reminiscences of some phrenologising experiences.

The mouth and teeth are often kept in wonderful order up to a late age. But they take care of them; using daily a little wood ash—not charcoal—and the forefinger, for dental purposes. I have seen people of all ages with teeth as bright, and mouths as fresh-looking as an infant's—or a dog's.

CHAP. XX.

764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

[[77]] The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
● 302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
609 " readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
" been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
157 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
609 consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-
humour.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

142
302

TODA WOMAN.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AM60 Toda AM60

142 The men are large in frame, tall and remarkably well-proportioned, with muscular, massive, and very hairy limbs and broad chests; a physique totally opposite in every respect to that of the dwellers in the plains. Their countenances are manly, open, and handsome, the features being unusually regular. They have luxuriant black beards, and, wearing no turban or covering on the head, display to full advantage their clustering bushy hair, the European look of which is increased by their practice of wearing it parted down the centre. In colour they are nearer brown than black; their lips are full rather than large, and their cheek-bones marked but not high. The eyes are large and intelligent, and the nose is elevated and arched. It is doubtless this combination of the distinguishing features of the white race, with an almost black complexion that gives them in part their peculiar aspect. Many of them have a very Jewish expression, but the general contour of the head and cast of countenance are rather such as we are accustomed to associate with the ancient Romans. This similitude is also enhanced by their stately carriage and flowing robe, the loose folds of which give them an appearance
291 best described by the term classic. This garment, in which the Toda envelopes himself, is of a thick coarse cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back and forward under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again, leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the lower part of the
293 person down to the knees. When herding their buffaloes, the men carry a thin straight rod or wand, about six feet in length, and this is the only approach to implement or weapon that they ever use.

142 The women are much lighter in hue than the men, the body being of a *café-au-lait* tint, and the face a shade darker. They are as a rule very pleasing in expression, and the young women, from fifteen to twenty, generally exceedingly good-looking. They are above the middle height, large in frame and well developed, though the hands and feet are very small. Their features are regular, the mouth not large, lips often thin, and the teeth even and beautifully white; the nose is straight, whilst the eyes are dark
302 and expressive. The most striking peculiarity about them is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60Toda AW60

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with underclothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWLO Toda AW60

opp. p. 32

291
302
142

TODA WOMAN.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

142
291
302

TODA.

[facing p. 121]

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by
the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are
made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age
he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
[843] of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself,
or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag
rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the
carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.
142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and
the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a
café-au-lait tint. The skin of the female children and
young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in
glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly
good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into
uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous
women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the
fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[53] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery
worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after
our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had
accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

142
291
301
302

TODA WOMAN.

[facing p. 123]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following:—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nilgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[244] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari:—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

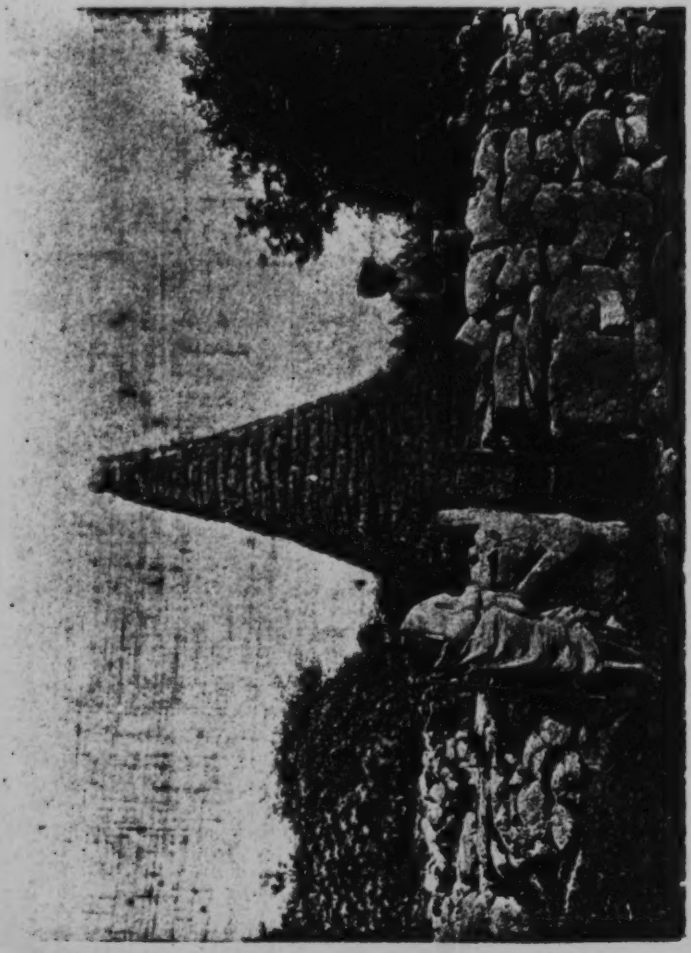
7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342
133
291
30
516

TODA HUT.

[facing p. 127]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60



346
302
291
516
481

"TODA CATHEDRAL"

[facing p. 131]

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

[791] [197] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi." [302] A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going [782] [788] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengŏd temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore- [531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut [765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

(7) Boy, aged 6. White spot painted between eyebrows. Hair shaved on top and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead. Hair brought forward in fringe over forehead on either side of median strip, and hanging down back of neck.

(8) Male child, aged 18 months. White spot painted between eyebrows. Shaved on top and sides of head.

Todupuzha Vellāla.—For the following note, I am indebted to Mr. N. Subramani Aiyar. Besides the Nanchinād Vellālas, there are, in Travancore, two sections of the Vellāla caste, inhabiting the mountainous Todupuzha tāluk. These are the Tenkanchi and Kumbakōnam Vellālas. The former are known by the popular name of Anjuttilkar, or the five hundred, and the latter are designated Munnutilkar, or the three hundred, in reference to the number of families which originally settled in the taluk. Like the Nanchinād Vellālas, they take the title of Pillai, and, in special cases, the honorific prefix Kanakku.

The Tenkanchi Vellālas appear to have dwelt originally in the Tenkāsi taluk of the Tinnevelly district, and to have emigrated, as the legend goes, on account of the demand of a Vaduka ruler for the hand of a member of their community in marriage. The Vadakkumkur Rājas were ruling over Todupuzha at the time of their migration, and afforded them a safe asylum. The Kumbakōnam Vellālas believe that they emigrated to Travancore about the commencement of the Malabar era from Kumbakōnam in the Tanjore district. Both divisions speak Malayālam, but there are clear indications in their speech that their mother-tongue was once Tamil, and they always use that language in their ceremonial writings. The Anjuttilkar women have

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

Piṯḍjnus (Pūldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to panus (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɑ1. The wives of these men were sinmiv (Sinmir) married to piṯḍjnus, and pæ:rgṽḭj (Pergveli) married to panus. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiv would have called pæ:rgṽḭj grandmother (piafɑ1). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiv should have called pæ:rgṽḭj mimjɑ1 (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiv's mother ocefiḭj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæ:rgṽḭj, both being daughters of the same mother panbuf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiv called pæ:rgṽḭj mother (afɑ1).

DIAGRAM 5

In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɑ1) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɑ1). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piafɑ1), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɑ1) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

[14] *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.*

[15] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda A-W60

The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *putkuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
● 302 stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun*? He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

142
291
302

Fig. 24. Karnoz.

Fig. 25. Nalsirwuf.

[P 300-B]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

142
291
302

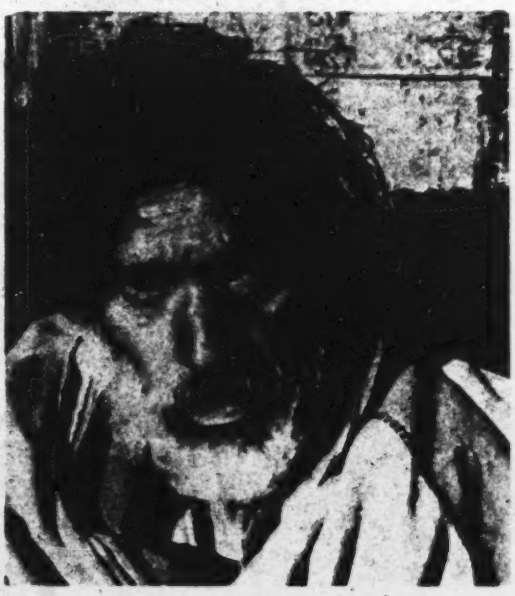


Fig. 26. Pads.

Fig. 27. Silidz.

[P300-C]

142
291
302
516
845

Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

142
291
302
793

Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[P 300-D]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Fig. 30. Munbokwutn.

142
291
302

Fig. 31. Narjilkwutn.

[p. 300-E]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

142
291
302

Fig. 32. Pengelam.

Fig. 33. Mutmali, Nalsirwuf and Närshmali.

[P 300-F]

TODA AW 60

2192

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

2196

To 302 524

have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595

A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 422

Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592

The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The